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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage ●582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 545 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

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601 great-grandfather is *kūlachi* ("thrice") *l-aku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kūlachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

601 Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured
602 when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings
601 or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* cere-
602 mony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance
796 with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always precedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

602 With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the
582 case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 357.

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602 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to
●582 find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is
[836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chuchu*, as a potential mother-in-law.
604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents
604 and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

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than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16]

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans.

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389–91; and Housse, 1939, pp. 207–8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lesser, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else reported.[21] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collío in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collío denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collío sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[22] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[21] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[22] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

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595 Of these, only three were from Cautinche (Table III), which
●[582] strongly suggests that at Cautinche reservation exogamy is the rule. The men do not seem to have ranged too far afield in the quest for mates, for all of the reservations listed in Table III are close together (see Fig. 1). Nearly half of the wives, sixteen out of thirty-four, came either from the parent reduction of Carrarriñe or from the intervening communities of Chivilcoyam and Boldoche (see Fig. 1). This seems to indicate a preference for making marital arrangements among a restricted number of social units.

A review of the past and present polygynous matings also throws light on the operation of the social system. Thus, Juan Llancanao Antinao, of house No. 4 (Fig. 4), was first married to a Carrarriñe woman and about seven years later he took a second wife from the same reservation. The original occupant of house No. 5, Huenchual Huenupi, married a woman from Romulwe, by whom he had seven children. He also took another mate from Romulwe, by whom he begot three children. On the death of his first wife Huenchual Huenupi went to Argentina, but his second spouse remained in Cautinche with a lover. On Huenchual's return home his wife and her lover moved to Argentina. Huenchual never remarried.

Millan Lincopan, of house No. 7, married his first wife some forty-five years ago, took a second mate about five years later, and a third after the lapse of a similar period. All three women shared the same *ruka* for many years. They are said to have quarreled in the beginning, but to have lived in harmony after a time. The first and third spouses were distant relatives from Denencuhue, but the second woman was unrelated to them and was from Romulwe. Millan Lincopan had offspring by all three wives. After their death he married a widow from Boldoche, by whom he had one son.

595 Householder No. 10, Antonio Huircapan, was married to two
587 women through the levirate, as each of them was the widow of an older brother. Moreover, in accord with traditional usage, they were cross-cousins (*ñuke*) of their husbands.[8] Another

[8] The man in house No. 10 also acquired his wife by levirate.

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Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another.

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SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V.

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The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there.

621 [582] 161 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *ruca* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

WHEN a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homosexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion expressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collío.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629–30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- [838] vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 758 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

● 582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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177 871 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at the mission station in Cholchol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 562 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural readjustment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 582 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from population changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tion of males to females, and while polygyny permitted each man to have several spouses, there was little danger of adults remaining unwed. Furthermore, observance of cross-cousin marriage, together with sororate and levirate practices, regularized and simplified the selection of spouses. Nowadays, young adult men and women exercise more independence in the choice of mates, but marriage is no longer the more or less automatic social mechanism that it once was. Lack of land or other sources of income keeps many a young man from taking a wife, and this economic deterrent, together with the abandonment of polygyny, has led to a greater proportion of spinsters despite the increased percentage of men in the population. Without the levirate and filial inheritance of spouses, too, an ever-mounting number of widows are finding it harder to rewed and must achieve some other way of supporting themselves and their minor children. Whether the increase of unwed people has led to more frequent prostitution and irregular sexual conduct is hard to establish, but this may well be the case.

One of the most important attributes brought about by the changing pattern of Araucanian culture has been the development of a deep sense of shame, whereas the Mapuche used to be noted for arrogance and attitudes of superiority in dealing with outsiders. The sense of shame and a consequent shyness of behavior are most noticeable in the reluctance to invite white people to their houses for meals. This might be wrongly attributed to a lack of hospitality. For instance, although we were almost never asked to dine in native homes, we were constantly sent gifts of food. In the same connection, few people would accept invitations to eat with us in the caravan, although male visitors were generally willing to take a cup of tea or coffee. On one occasion Mrs. Antinao, who was forever doing us thoughtful favors, such as bringing dry straw for starting the fire on rainy mornings, was persuaded to take tea with my wife. She seemed very happy to have a chance to chat and to inspect the furnishings of the caravan, but at the same time she kept a wary eye out for me and hurried away the moment I appeared.

Feelings of shame are most apt to be aroused at those points

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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chumūl chefel
inche ta eimi chachai.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[26] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[27] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[27]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

Woman's Reply

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koñi anai koñi
mūfūchi ñuke
rume piyaimi
welu rēpū kiñe
kiso leimi rume
feipi afeyu
trig mapu meu
wefpalen inche
pu che meu ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me ñuke ("cousin" or "wife"),[28] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a hole in the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their ñuke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential mistresses, if not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[26] Tami piuke am means literally, "your heart soul." However, am also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where is the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This connotes that she appears heartless to him.

[27] For the use of papai see the free translation of "Man's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[28] Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[28] Compare footnote 15.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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536 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate
582 cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[*] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put
592 the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds
582 recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuñi-ñuke) that one may use the term ñuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[*]The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

4:Latcham F-S (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*mum dewanke*) has, however, a certain moral ascendancy over the others (*mum dewanke*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*lewenlun*), and the payment (*mawun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and soon too greatly drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mawun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Married Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the place, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusques* were used as torches (kŭde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refŭe) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (*Cf.* for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1: 328, 2: 162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter fuke (mother) while she called him peñeñi ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [535] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llamas (llaṉkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946: 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kuwa*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate.

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chaw*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the levirate obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llepu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llepu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Mansbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, inasfar as MoBrDeCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*mowa*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

[167]

601 591 582 177 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiBr and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiBr, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*pale*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*nillon*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the once vigorously organized Mapuche society.

601 582 587 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoBrDa and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WifBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Marino de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]: 121; Guevara Silva 1913: 40), and WifBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WifBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946: 719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

8; Farm E-5 (1953) 1956 SC4 Araucanians SC4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiñCha marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiñCha because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interkindred bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders.

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and Moši on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system.

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern.

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely sororeal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household.

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved patrilateral, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is prominently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time.

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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611

Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bifurcate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

[582]

In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

Levirate and Sororate

[587]

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than monogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

601

Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184]

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of
[593] whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencia, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *ñomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lesser concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lesser's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquillof, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[3] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father sibs.

[583] [591 [604]

114 Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[4] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic sib organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[3] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1–285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[4] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334–370, and *La organizacion social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called ñuadomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

●582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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AGE AND QUALITIES OF PARTNERS

582 Generally a man is older by several years than the woman he marries. In only 7 percent of the 116 families recorded in the census taken in Alepúe in 1940 (Censo de Alepúe de Noviembre de 1940) was the wife older than her husband. The second and subsequent wives were usually much younger than the man. The youngest of three wives of a Cofiaripe man—the man was 80 years old in 1947—was 40 years younger than he when he married her. He had three children in 1947 younger than 10 years of age.

Both men and women were considered of marriageable age when in the twenties; however, a man was often in his early thirties before he married. Ages of parents and their children taken at random from the 1940 census of Alepúe follow: Husband, 46; wife, 36; children, 17, 15, 14, 13, 8, 7, 5. Husband, 38; wife, 35; child, 2. Husband, 41; wife, 38; children, 18, 15, 14 and 14 (twins), 12, 9, 4, 2. Husband, 53; wife, 55; children, 20, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman, namely, care for children, plant a garden, prepare and cook all foods; and she should know all things regarding the preparation and use of wool, such as washing it, spinning and weaving it into chamall, choapino, blankets, and other useful articles. A man is ready for marriage when he knows how to cultivate the soil, raise cattle and sheep, and has acquired both land and animals. Formerly, a man had also to be able to fight in war before he was allowed to marry. When the father thought that his son was ready for marriage, he suggested to him that he marry. Occasionally a man decided for himself that he was ready. "Today no one asks about any qualities any more," said a 70-year-old man. "As long as they are married—that is all that counts!"

601 From the day of marriage the man is spoken of as kure ŋen wentru, or kuri ŋelu, or kure ŋechi wentru (married man, or man having a spouse), or merely wentru (man); the woman, as fĕt'an ŋelu (a married one), or fĕt'a ŋechi (married woman), or merely domo (woman).

A man after the birth of his first child, and any old man, is called fücha (old man); a woman, after her first delivery, and any old woman, is called kuʃe (old woman). Such men and such women may also be spoken of as tremke che (the eldest ones). There is no change of appellation when a man becomes a grandfather, or a woman, a grandmother.

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595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. Even a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an Argentine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage with neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even in days of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

587 614 Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

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than themselves. "Fifteen years, 18 years, is certainly no age for marriage." 582 584

Kolupan described the traditional proper way of arranging for a marriage: The man told his parents of a liking he had for a girl. His parents, if they too liked the girl, conferred with the girl's parents about a possible marriage. Both parents of the girl had a voice in the decision, but it was the girl's father who expressed the consent to the man's parents and who set the bride price. The bride price was seldom less than four or five large animals, such as cows or horses; if the groom's parents were wealthy, the price might be 20 head of cattle. These were to be given to the girl's father; it was understood that the girl's mother would be presented with gifts of silver ornaments, money, and clothing. The girl's consent to her betrothal was rarely sought; nor were her likes or dislikes taken into consideration. In fact, she did not always know the man to whom she was promised. A listening-in woman in her seventies, the daughter of a late cacique, had not known the man to whom she was promised. Her father received as bride price for her a riding horse, a new saddle, and a large number of cattle.

Child betrothal was recognized but was a rare occurrence.—Whether child betrothal was traditional or borrowed from the Argentines was difficult to ascertain.—The betrothal might occur when the girl was no older than 5 years, but marriage did not take place until she was at least 15. Kolupan believed that the bride price, in such cases, was paid at the time of betrothal. "How else could both sides have been held to their promises," he reasoned, and added, "However, in those days a word meant more than written documents do today. Such a girl was carefully guarded by her uncles, aunts, brothers, and parents; in fact, by all her relatives," he noted. "Nothing was to happen to her; the chief reason for guarding her was to prevent anyone else from wanting to marry her."

In more recent times it has been considered proper for the man himself to ask the consent of the girl's parents. Once the girl was promised to him he could come to her home, but the girl had to get her mother's express permission to speak to him. "These were delicate things and had to be strictly observed." Sometimes, however, the couple evaded the parents. "I arranged with the girl first, and then I asked her parents for her," said a man in his fifties. He laughed about this.

Today parents have had to make further concessions. The young man alone asks the consent of the girl's parents, or he and the girl together ask for it. There is no longer a bride price. The custom was

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram 1 shows an acual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the processof sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See CAT. 116, P. 93 -- Analyst]

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. This has come about because women as well as men were registered during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
583 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
[572] attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage – that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Ser-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

[583] Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
583 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *küllanthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional mat- [582] rilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal relatives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment—a matter of a few pesos—on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly.

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951.

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582 lineage. It is a more satisfactory term precisely because of its greater inclusiveness in implying the involvement of "classificatory" rather than "real" mother's brothers and their daughters. It connotes relationships between lineage groups, between men and women of one group qua group with men and women of a homologous group. It is used here in this latter sense.

Still, the term is not wholly satisfactory. Insofar as "matrilateral" is combined with "cousin," there tends to be too great a genealogical and generational overtone to the phrase. Furthermore, it suggests an all too rigid system in failing to cover marriages which are essentially matrilateral but not contracted with a female of the mother's lineage. More will be said of this later.

INCEST AND EXOGAMY

835 Araucanian ethnological literature contains references to incest relationships of all degrees. Clear distinctions between sexual intercourse on the one hand and contractual marriage on the other have not been made in consideration of incestuous relationships; or, if implied, not consistently. The allegation that the Mapuche committed all degrees of incest at their notorious drinking bouts seems an overstatement, at least as far as a high incidence is implied. The question of mother-son incest in connection with filial inheritance of wives appears to be a false issue resulting from a misunderstanding of the nature of such inheritance and, perhaps, of the classificatory kinship terminology and relationships in general.

In all fairness, the ease of dismissing early ethnographic reports simply on the grounds of inadequate data and now outmoded theoretical assumptions and research methods is here acknowledged. What matters is that incest is not today of the order described in the past (cf. Titiev, 1951:38n). Furthermore, mere sexual connection between individuals standing in a proscribed category should not be considered on the same level of sociological analysis as marriage.

582 When questioned about what constitutes incest, the Mapuche consistently phrase their answers in terms of "marriage with *close* relatives." Marriage with a lineage member is proscribed, these individuals being designated as *kiñeche* or *familia*, neither a very precise term. If pressed for examples, they usually state that marriage is forbidden between a man and his father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. It is recognized that father's sister's

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common

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589 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which several and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking — a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

582 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solu- [587] tions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche [197] concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear — and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

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The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse.

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices.

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for suprafamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is

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not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories — and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[3]

Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[3] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1954) which speculate about lines of *authority* and *sentiment*, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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MODEL SYSTEMS

There are, I may say, two model systems of Mapuche matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. One is that seen by the Mapuche; [3] the other is one I will present shortly. Both are abstractions which serve analytic purposes. First we will discuss the Mapuche model. 582

As already indicated, the Mapuche think in terms of closeness and distance of relationships and have their own reasons for this. They think, however, that marriage between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother is an ideal relationship. Yet this is thought of as an old ideal, one no longer strictly adhered to, although almost universal in the past. Mother's brother's daughter marriage is said to have been "almost obligatory" (*casi obligatorio*), having almost the force of "law" (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. If this is true, why, then, is so much importance attached to courtship, and why the numerous stories about elopement today and in the past?

A superficial examination of the situation would suggest that courtship has increased in importance in proportion to the decline of mother's brother's daughter marriages, and that this situation results from the breakdown of parochial aspects of reservation life and the establishment of wider interpersonal and intergroup contacts in the indigenous zone. This is a somewhat seductive hypothesis, since it seems partly borne out by observation and is rather readily acknowledged by the Mapuche themselves. 582 178

The older people, especially, speak rather righteously about marriage with the mother's brother's daughter (father's sister's son) and tend to bemoan its passing as evidence of a general decline in Mapuche cultural integrity. Younger people say that things are changing and many of the traditional ways are being abandoned. These are the kinds of statements with which all field workers are familiar.

Genealogical reconstruction shows the persistence of matrilateral marriage into the present on a large scale, but seems to indicate that *admapu* is and has been for several generations shamefully disregarded since in only a small portion of the genealogies is marriage with a "real" mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son revealed. When this is pointed out to people in general they explain such situations as departures from the ideal form. When they realize that their own marriage conflicts with the notion of mother's brother's

[3] The brief analysis of marriage presented in my 1956 paper was made with this model in mind.

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582 daughter marriage being *admapu* a generation or so ago, they place
178 emphasis on the "or so," pushing the ideal type back in time to around the beginning of the reservation system or even before. In the time of
[613] which they speak, there is good evidence to show that marriage was strictly an interhousehold affair, there being no localized corporate patrilineages. But what they speak of does not describe the ongoing marriage system, the system which has been in existence since around the turn of the century.

582 In any case, marriage with classificatory mother's brothers' daughters is regarded as somehow less traditional and, therefore, not correct. It is sometimes said that custom was satisfied if only one of several brothers married his mother's brother's daughter, and the occasional occurrences of such marriages in the genealogies are said to represent this condition, *admapu* being cleverly or at least purposely circumvented. This does not tell why all the available "real" mother's brothers' daughters were not married by their "real" father's sisters' sons before classificatory cross-cousins became involved. It certainly smacks of rationalization. It might serve to shed some doubt on arguments for the existence of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on bonds of *sentiment* between sister's sons and mother's brothers.

The principal objections to the Mapuche model are that it is conceived from an ego point of view in a postmarital set of relationships, that it deals with "real" mother's brothers (cf. Titiev, 1951:42, 46, concerning Mapuche inability to generalize about certain relatives), and that it is phrased in terms of individuals rather than groups. Among the Mapuche, matrilateral marriage is a phenomenon of
[613] group interaction. One's mother serves as a bridge to marriageable women of her lineage, the daughters, granddaughters, and younger sisters of both "real" and classificatory mother's brothers.

Diagram II is a model constructed along lineage lines, localized descent groups, and is patterned after models which appear in connection with unilateral marriage systems in anthropological literature. It has its inadequacies, but it will serve for a preliminary discussion.

I have shown only three generations, ego's and the two ascending, because as a young man these are ego's most important relatives, even though he could conceivably have "great-grandparents" and very likely "nephews and nieces." Those of the generation below ego become important as he in turn becomes a "mother's brother" of social significance. I am speaking now in the context of matrilateral cross-

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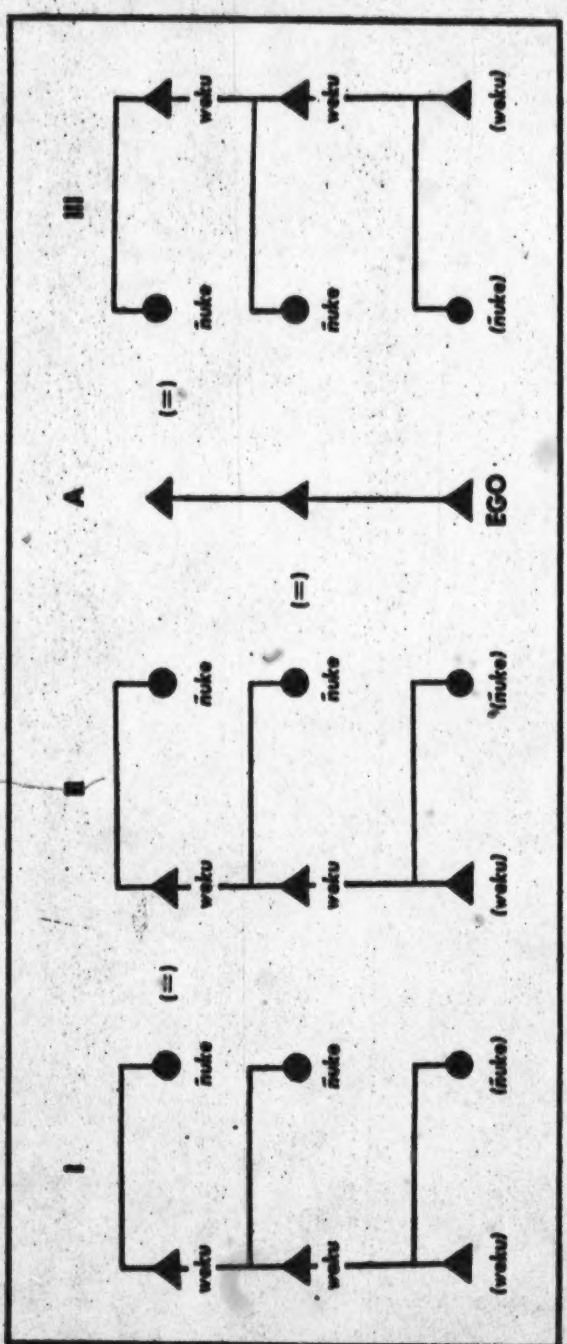

Diagram II

[p 193]

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cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special relationship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

[4] Guevara, 1908:57, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, then *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chethki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *fuke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships *within a matrilateral system*, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

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relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered.

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from II, but stand in the relationship of wife giver and wife receiver, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations. However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model*, the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere.

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matri-

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582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In

[601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

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[7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.

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insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally. 582

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups. 582 613

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons. 595 582 613 [182]

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

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ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds of kinship with their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonqueo, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonqueo men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

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WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I).[7] The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others

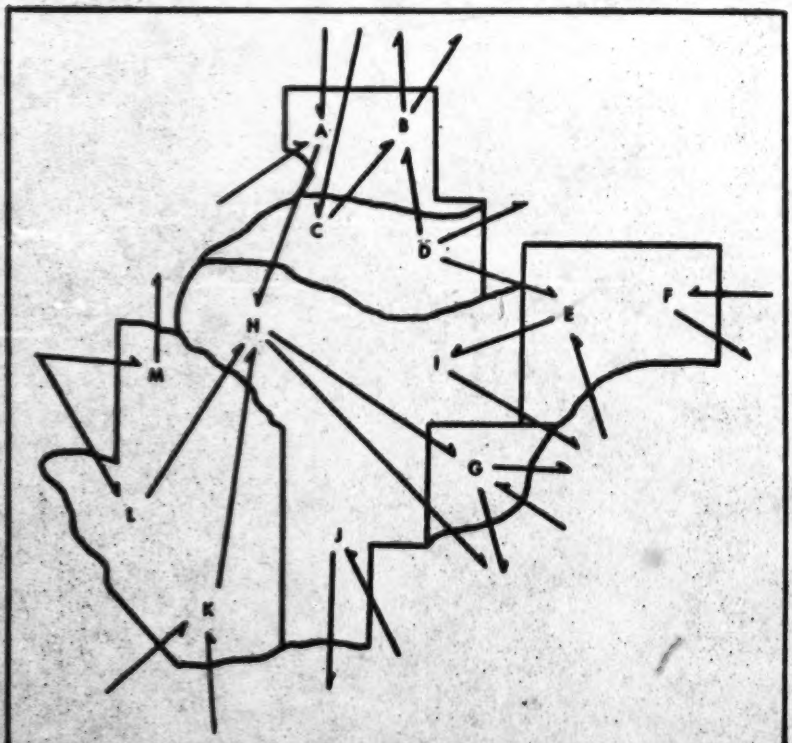

DIAGRAM III

7 [See CAT. IK, P-6 --ANALYST]

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582 613 114 during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency [621] for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

582 613 621 It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

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On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart.

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system.

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

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582 613 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

[594] Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

[595] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in [885] terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 601 613 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patriorganization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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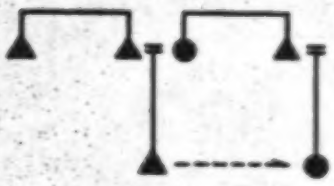

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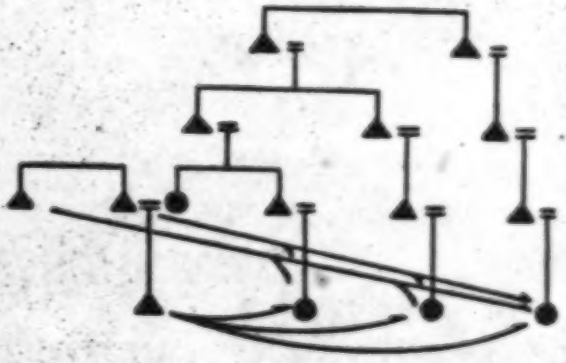

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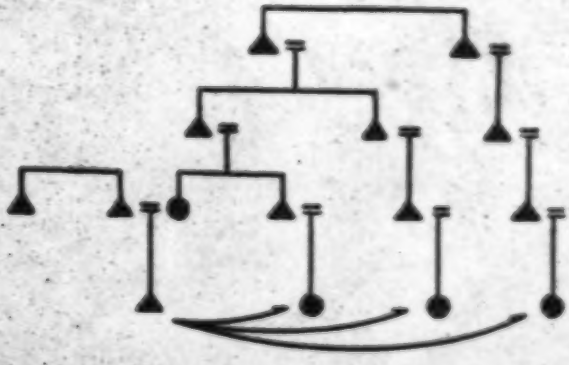

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DIAGRAM IV

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582 601 613 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the immediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] [598] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency.

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns.

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices.

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups.

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583 [584] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 594 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the [422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, [431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she [589] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her [613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice [589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 582 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 582 [613] Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 582 [167] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:431). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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24 794 628 to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral [595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-[413] receiving sets into a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

794 613 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious [582] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche [578] became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in [954] placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame [963] for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than [954] to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revalidated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[1]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage.

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

[1] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to
[194] have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
177 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
[166] these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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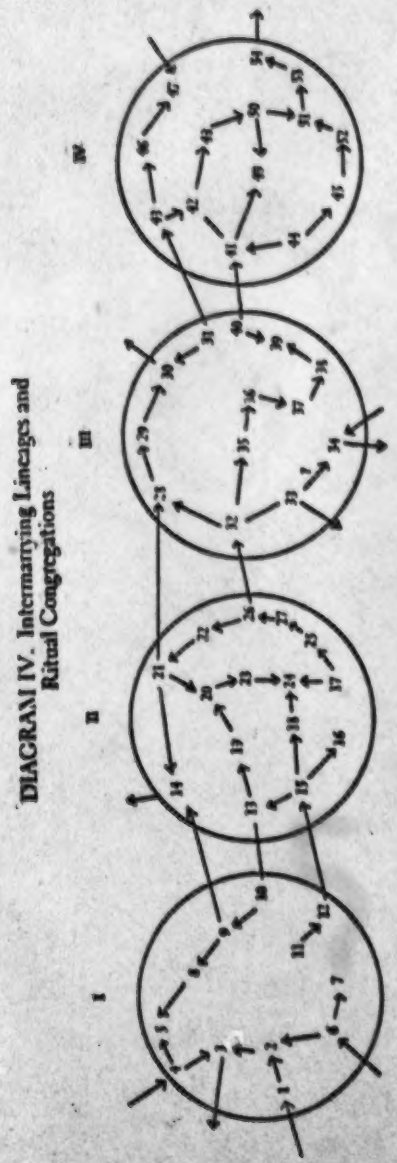

DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations

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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

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794 62 613 582 178 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 582 581 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 582 178 613 582 178 595 794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more and more to be identified with a local or regional block of reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

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hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Toltén region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
62 constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
581 first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
•582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
[595] outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[178] than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[754] tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
000 lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
621 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

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2 2 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections -- Analyst]

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 598 618 613 182 582 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 598 593 [618] Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroilments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that [626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 754 595 [832] [842] [178] Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapucheland, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

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Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

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Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE I

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (*reñi*)	afterworld (*wenumapu*)
kai kai	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays bridepriee is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñillan*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

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582 671 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *fiuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*admapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun*: north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli*: south), to the east, Puelche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the preconquest Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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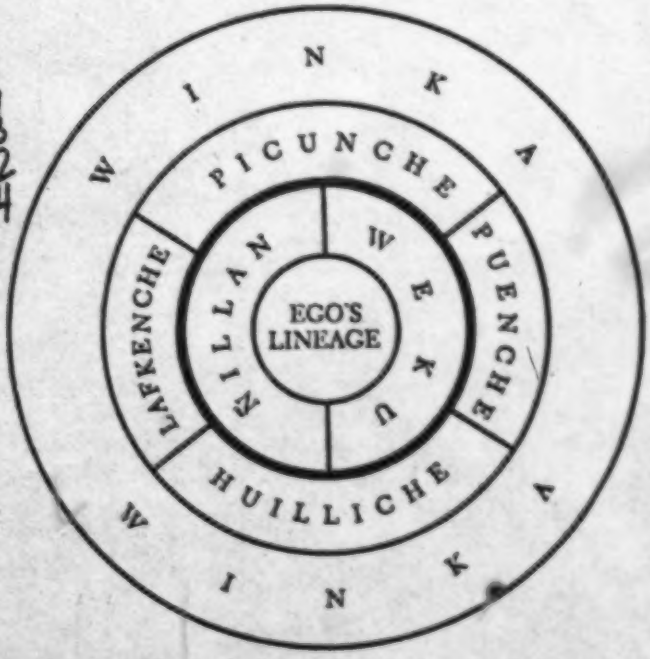
101 619 794 613 582 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within the ritual congregation, however, there are other important classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's

DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland



794 613 582 wife-receivers (*filan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in Mapucheland.

101 103 For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) regional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *fillatun* and *cwn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.